a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling Mountain Goat. Älkwi told his brothers, of whom the second was named Älkexa and the third O'miät~~l~~, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to him, ~~and~~ that he would investigate it, and later meet them at Anokokwläls.

Älkwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide thoughtfully travelled slowly so that ~~kkxxfx~~ his human companion ~~could~~ might follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with precipitous walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. Älkwi followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain, and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once", he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper. He found himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people; these were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to ~~no~~ harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, Älkwi watched the performance of a nuskwäl dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural ~~xx~~ dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for Anokokwläls, not realising that it was really a year since he had left his brothers.

Meanwhile, through the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, ~~but~~ they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from Anokokwläls. They hurried to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the

third night Älkwi told ~~them~~ his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went ~~hunting and~~ out and killed so many Mountain Goats that the cave was entirely filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. Älkwi sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the ~~three~~ remaining prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. Anokokwäls was a good place for a ceremony because Älkwi had decorated it with paintings ~~on the occasion that~~ after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space. These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one of the writer's informants claimed to have seen them. When all the people had arrived, Älkwi gave a Mountain Goat leg-bone to each, ~~with~~ asking every ~~thex~~recipient to beat time with it. Then Älkwi danced a nuskwäl dance, imitating the one he had seen ~~performed~~ done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular nuskwäl dance.

In later years, Älkwi had such phenomenal success in hunting that ~~with~~ by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, Nus~~l~~ɬkwaläm~~l~~, "The One who is always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. Älkwi, too, is responsible for the name of Mt. Tcopinät~~l~~, "Leg, Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of Mountain Goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, tcopinät~~l~~, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

Early History of the Society.

~~In~~ Before concluding this section, a few words should be included about the ~~supposed~~ reputed early history of the a'ɬlk society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the sɯsaok and there is no mention of feuds between these two or-

ganizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with ~~the members of~~ the kusiut society. (See Chapter XI) The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural patrons and claiming to possess supernatural powers. In contrast ~~to~~ with the a'ɑlk, the kusiut are well organized and regulated, ~~while~~ its members are proud of their powers, and scornful of those who lack the same. ~~Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand~~ Hence there is jealousy between the two. Until relatively recent times, the a'ɑlk were numerically stronger, and included some chiefs, whereas the strength of the kusiut society depended in the supernatural strength claimed by its members. ~~It is true that~~ Individuals occasionally belonged to both, if they happened to possess prerogatives of both kinds, but, as a rule, ~~on the whole~~, the a'ɑlk were young men and the kusiut were grey-beards. This rivalry was formerly so intense that all who were not members of the ~~former~~ latter society were in many cases ~~often~~ termed a'ɑlk irrespective of whether or not they actually possessed dances of that type; Carrier Indians alone were not so designated. During the summer, members of the two societies dwelt amicably together, but ~~during~~ the winter, when dances took place, there were ~~constant~~ continual bickerings. The kusiut ~~were~~ constantly endeavoured to impress their rivals with their own prowess; ~~while~~ the a'ɑlk, not convinced ~~thoroughly assured~~ of the others' power, used to mock them in their songs. This was the usual practice in case of some error in kusiut ritual. The a'ɑlk frequently disobeyed the orders of the kusiut and a number of them once tried to pry up a huge boulder beneath which was the "power" of a certain kusiut.(2) In recent years the kusiut society has entirely gained the supremacy, but it is agreed by all Bella Coola that in former years this was by no means the case, and that a'ɑlk did not hesitate even to kill one of ~~the supernaturally endowed dancers.~~ their rivals.

MISCELLANEOUS CEREMONIES. (10 pt. boldface c.f. l.c.)

The rites described in this chapter and the one preceding comprise the potlatch

~~(1). This point is elaborated in Chapter XI.~~
~~(2). See X p.~~

of the Bella Coola so far as the writer was able to learn its details. Until the increase of wealth in recent years, such a ceremony was a rare affair, and it is unlikely that in any village more than at most one month in the year was consumed in the performance of rites of this kind. But sociological and ethical concepts, shown at their highest development in the potlatch, are not limited to a few weeks of the year, or to any class of the community. Generosity on a large scale can be publicly displayed by chiefs alone, but to a lesser degree this virtue must be shown by everyone, since avarice is considered a major sin bybthe Bella Coola. Anyone who happens to pass a house in which a meal is taking place must be invited to share it; to do otherwise would be considered rude. The person so summoned must take at least a trifle to show that he is not churlish and too proud to eat with his host; while if he is hungry,he shares whatever is being served as a matter of course. The head of the family should be the first to taste any wine as proof that it is not poisoned, but otherwise he fares little, if any, better than his guests. This custom is rapidly falling into decay at the present time through the construction of individual family houses with doors and locks. The fisherman who has exclusive rights to a suitable place for netting olachen or salmon must give some of his catch to anyone who asks him. If he has landed four salmon, the first solicitor is given one, laterm comers, none at all. When a net is set in the river, anyone passing is allowed to raise it and take some of the contents; if there are two fish, he may remove one, if many, three or four. To take all would be a despicable theft, sufficient to brand the transgressor as greedy; hence public opinion prevents the e system from being carried to excess. A hunter who brings back several mountain goats or other large game is expected to invite his neighbours to a feast, which virtually means that he must share his takings.

Presents of this kind not only increase the prestige of the donor who has thus acted in accordance with Bella Coola ethics, but they are advantageous investments since others reciprocate. The system is carried to such lengths that, until recent years, it was more profitable to give away goods than to sell them. In the case of a sale, the purchaser endeavours to give as little as possible, whereas the recipient of a gift returns as much as he can. Several of the older people mentioned that early white traders would have received more for their goods by giving them away than by selling.

Even at the present time the Bella Coola sometimes carry out a practice which was once common. Particularly in the early autumn or in spring, a chief

who has large supplies of food may decide to show his wealth to the members of a neighbouring tribe, such as the Bella Bella, ~~for example.~~ Alone, or with a few friends, he goes to Bella Bella and is sure to find accommodation in the ~~house~~ home of some friend, or relative, or important chief. In the evening he ~~xxxx~~ invites the inhabitants of his host's village to the house ~~where~~ in which he is staying, and uses the food he has brought with him to provide them with an elaborate meal. His guests ~~now~~ feel it incumbent on them to repay this generosity, and one of them asks the singers to beat out one of ~~his~~ his ancestor's (?) songs, the Bella Bella equivalent to ~~of~~ s!saok, a'!lk, or even kusiut. The owner dances to it, and then gives presents to the stranger to validate the performance he has just witnessed. This is repeated by everyone to whom he has given food, and although each present may be small, their total is greater than ~~his~~ the original ~~expenditure.~~ outlay. Sometimes a poor man, feeling himself too insignificant to give a ceremony of this kind, takes a supply of food to a foreign tribe to sell. If his hosts wish to show their generous dispositions they persuade him to give it away in the fashion just described, which always brings in more than he could possibly obtain by ~~a~~ sale. It is even customary for the hosts to lend such a stranger enough food for public distribution if his own stock is too small.

Although the most important Bella Coola dances are performed at potlatches or during the kusiut season,(1) they are not confined to these periods. Professional singers do nothing ~~else~~ outside and, except during the run of salmon when everyone is busy fishing, a dance occurs every few nights. ~~The~~ Supernatural beings are not called down; consequently, ~~so the performances are not steeped in~~ there is little solemnity and everyone has a good time. On these occasions, kusiut songs are first beaten out, followed by s!saok and a'!lk, and the owner of each song dances to it. Anyone who has enough food to provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such an affair, but the singers and heralds ~~themselves~~ alone can force a man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the

(1) See p. .

singers to take the initiative, heralds ~~likewise~~ often invite people to the house of a man whom they know ~~is~~ to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one of the non-sacred type just described takes place ~~xxxxx~~ whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when supplies of berries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. It is at this season, too, that a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign guests, calls in his neighbours for a s.saok dance and initiates some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual, as described in the preceding chapter, resembles that of a potlatch ~~xxxgxxxxxxxxxxx~~ except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. Sometimes a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains ~~announces that his reason for~~ he is doing so ~~is because~~ that he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for ~~the~~ recipients to do ~~this~~ so in time for the donor to make use of their returns at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during the early autumn, while in winter ~~xxxxx~~ kusiut dances take place almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of a'.lk ~~xxxxxx~~ performances, and for another type of rite, ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ nusaxkamx. ~~These~~ This can be described ~~at this point~~ here since, although not closely associated with the potlatch, ~~they~~ it serves to teach

singers to take the initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know is well provided with food.

In addition to the non-ceremonial use just described of semi-sacred dances, a description may be given at this point of two other types of dance which, though not associated with the potlatch, serve to teach to children the proper methods of giving. nusäxkämx,

~~Another type of ceremonial can be described at this point since~~, although not ~~closely associated with the~~ potlatch, ~~it serves to teach~~ children the principles of present-giving and indebtedness. February is the proper month for nusäkämx, although preliminary arrangements are made early in the winter. A chief who has a son or daughter about ten or twelve years of age may decide to use some of his food, and a small part of his wealth, for the benefit of ~~his~~ the child. With the assistance of his relatives, the father begins making large numbers of ~~model~~ tiny toy canoes, miniature bows and arrows, small baskets, and models of all other types of articles commonly given away at potlatches. The manufacture of these requires several months, but ~~a~~ towards the end of January they are nearly ready.

Other arrangements must now be made. A name must be chosen for the child. Since a ~~nusakxmx~~ nusäxkämx dance is a humourous, non-sacred affair, a nusäxkämx name ~~must~~ is not ~~be~~ embodied in a myth but is drawn from some story. Occasionally, parents decide on ~~the~~ a new one, but more often the ~~name~~ designation selected is one used for the same purpose by a grandparent of the child. There is no rivalry with regard to names of this type, and one of them can be ~~passed~~ re-used without asking consent of the last incumbent although permission would never be refused. ~~With each name~~ There must be a song with each name, and the grandparents and other elderly relatives teach this to a number of boys who are to act as singers. The words may have been remembered from previous usage; if not, a simple theme is composed by one of the old people, having some reference to the name about to be conferred. For example, one ~~name~~ appellation of this type is Tɔ̀biwäc, Pawn, and the accompanying

words are:

"We hear that Deer has borne a child."

Another name is Qolon, Beaver, and the song:-- "Be of good cheer, the Beaver is coming."

A third song is, "Go outside under the house like a dog."

Occasionally a small incident in an ancestral myth is used. ~~but this is rare.~~ The teaching of ~~this~~ a song to ~~the~~ juvenile singers is a source of constant merriment; the parents and grandparents of the child are the principal instructors, aided by ~~the real singers.~~ professional musicians. Boys are always willing to act as singers, both on account of the practice they receive, ~~as well as for~~ and for the gifts ~~which~~ they will acquire. Other lads are chosen to act as heralds, an effort being made in each case to ~~select boys~~ pick those likely to pursue these professions.

The day finally selected for the ceremony is in February, on a date when nothing of importance is taking place. The juvenile heralds ~~invite~~ summoned the child guests who have been ~~selected~~ invited in accordance with the rules governing a potlatch, especial care being taken to omit none to whom the child donor is indebted. His father carefully instructs him in this matter, thus impressing on his son's mind one of the fundamental points of Bella Coola life. In the late afternoon, when all have assembled, the boy singers beat out the donor's song and he dances to it. It may be in the nature of a sɬsaok, a'ɬlk, or kusiut dance, ~~depending upon~~ according to the wishes of his parents. Frequently, one of the grandparents or some other old relatives likewise dance to the song, using ~~any~~ whatever style he chooses. There is no ceremonial significance to the ceremony and ~~everyone~~ all enjoy ~~himself~~ themselves immensely, especially the adult guests. After the dancing, presents are given to the guests. The new name is announced. The father of the ~~child~~ young donor carefully instructs him as to the scale of his gifts, emphasizing the necessity of rewarding the singers and heralds, and of repaying with interest those children from whom he has

received favours. In this way, the ceremony serves as a practical example of how to conduct a potlatch. The parents of the donor always provide some tasty food for the occasion, and this is distributed after the gifts have been handed round. The necessity for food and presents makes it impossible for any but the children of chiefs to enjoy this training.

After the ceremony, the children parade up and down the sidewalk in front of the houses, singing boisterously. The performance has been for their benefit and they wish to "show off." One night completes the affair, but the following afternoon another child may summon his comrades and a similar ceremony be carried out. The child singers first beat out the song of the ~~first~~ donor, ~~after~~ that of ~~the present one~~, his predecessor, to ~~and he~~ which the latter dances once again. If food is plentiful, nusäxkämx ceremonies may be carried out every day for several weeks, or a year or two may elapse without a single one. A child's song is remembered from year to year and he dances whenever it is beaten out. The name acquired in this way is used semi-jocularly by a lads comrades. ~~With~~ After marriage, it is considered unfitting for a youth to be concerned with nusäxkämx and he normally becomes an a'ɬlk.

Ceremonies of this kind have been discontinued for many years and it was impossible to obtain detailed accounts. The main features are clear:-- they serve to instruct children in the methods of present-giving. According to one of the writer's informants, there ~~are~~ were really two types of nusäxkämx ceremonial; one of the humourous pattern above described in which, however, food alone ~~is~~ was ~~distributed~~ given away, and another in which miniature presents ~~are~~ were distributed. This man believed that the latter was only possible for the children of wealthy chiefs, and that on such occasions the themes consisted of small incidents in the family myth. In either case, the importance of ceremonial can be judged from the manner in which it ~~is~~ was impressed upon mere children.